SPIRIT OF THE PRESS.

EDITORIAL OPINIONS OF THE LEADING JOURNALS DPON CURRENT TOPICS-COMPILED BYERY BAT FOR THE EVENING TRLEGRAPH.

The Southern Militia. From the N. Y. Times.

The order of Secretary Schofield explanatory of his refusal to furnish arms to the militia of the Southern States adds greatly to the responsibility of the President in dealing with the applications of the new Governors. The common answer to appeals for military help, like that of Governor Warmouth, is, that the local militia should be available for the maintenance of order. The enemies of reconstruc-tion have contended that unless the local Govermments be able with the militia at their command, to put down disturbance and enforce the law, they must be considered failures. The argument is unsound, as we have more than once attempted to show, especially in view of the neglect of Congress to provide for an adequate distribution of arms. But there has nevertheless been a conviction that any request for Federal Intervention should be preceded by the employment of all powers at the com-mand of the local Executives—the militia

included. The case is made a good deal plainer by the extract from the law which the Secretary of War introduces into his order. By one of those unfortunate blunders which have marred the progress of reconstruction at almost every stage, the South is literally without a militia. Not only have the local Governments no arms for its use, but the supplying of arms by the War Department is ferbidden by a clause which-passed under different circumstances is yet unrepealed. Congress, therefore, in its haste to adjourn, did more than neglect the distribution of arms which a measure brought forward at a late day rightfully contemplated. It left on the statute book a provision which restrains the War Department from arming the militia, whatever the emergency. To this extent the reconstructed States are powerless. Their authorities are paralyzed by an order which nothing less than the action of Congress can set aside. This fact, in the presence of the disloyal organizations by which the rights of persons of Unionists are threatened, will undoubtedly strengthen the movement for a reassembling of Congress in September. That proceeding is, for many reasons, undesirable, but it may be made inevitable. Fow things are more likely to make it so than the confessed inability of the new Governments to employ a power which is essential to their existence.

Meanwhile the President may prevent mischief, and possibly some trouble, by making the fact announced by General Schofield the basis of more decided action than might otherwise be expedient. He cannot bid the Governors employ the militia before calling for Federal troops. Pending the repeal of the obstructive provision now brought to light, they have only Federal soldiers to rely upon to restrain the lawless, and overawe the Rebel plotters who are at work in every Southern State. Any hesitation on Mr. Johnson's part, or any failure to provide for the emergencies that may arise, will necessitate a September gession. Between that evil and the evil of unprotected, unsupported authority in the South at the November election, there can be no doubt as to the duty to be performed by the national law-makers.

Colored Conservatism. From the N. Y. Tribune.

"Governor Seward," asked a Washington acquaintance, during the winter of 1859-60, "what do you think of Mr. Douglas' chances for the Presidency?"

"I think very little of them; his time has gone by," blandly replied the Senator. "'Gone by?' Why, we consider him still a young man," remonstrated the inquirer.
"Very likely," rejoined the sming Sena-

tor: "I did not refer to his age; but I judge that the time has gone by for electing a President who spells 'negro' with two q's. -The ancient aristocracy of the South is in

a quandary; and its boggle is Colored Conservatism. Here is the ground of its per-

The white aristocracy has beaten the radical constitution of Mississippi by negro votes, and came near beating that of Georgia; polling 15,000 black votes against it. Encouraged by these results, the Bourbons are now organizing Democratic negro clubs, giving Democratic white and black barbecues, and fraternizing with their colored brethren most cordially and intimately. The gullible World reports half the negroes of New Orleans aiready members of Democratic clubs-which is as likely as that half the Irish Catholics in New York had become Know Nothings. But it is true that the white Democrats are systematically ingratiating themselves with the negroes, and with considerable success. They have Democratic negro orators, and some Democratic negro wire-workers, whose electioneering skill and tact do credit to their political trainers. In a few years, if the entente cordiale be fully preserved, these Democratic neophytes will be able to put a dozen "whisky skins" inside their several waistcoats without inconvenience, and to get as many hundred Democratic votes out of a district containing less than a hundred Democratic voters, as though they had trained under Captain Rynders and graduated from Tammany Hall.

Yet we warn their new friends to mind the crusty adage that "Fine words butter no parsneps." An old play hits the point thus

Captain-Are you honest, Cudjo?

Cudjo-What you gib me, Massa? Sambo has a liking for "Old Massa"-he lives on his land, earns his wages, and has substantial reasons for preferring his good will to that of a "carpet bagger;" but it won't do to forget that he is a conservative. He new enjoys the right of suffrage, and he means to retain, to conserve it. Blessed well does he know that the barbecues and other flattering attentions so generously tendered him by his paler Democratic brethren are due to his being a free and independent voter-that they would see him in heaven before soliciting the honor of his company at an ox roast, if the accursed radicals had not enfranchised him. He will of course gladly attend every Democratic barbeone to which he is invited, will eat and drink his fill there, and declare that the white folks have "done him proud" by their hospitality; he will join their club and wear their badge, if he clearly sees what he is to gain by so doing; but when his vote is wanted, it will come up missing if casting it Democratic is to result in his disfranchisement. He won't vote to kill the goose that lays such nice eggs. Do but consider that there is some human nature in a nigger, and you will realize that this must be so, and can't possibly be otherwise. You may have a white and black Democratic club of a thousand members; the fraternization at barbecue and bar may be lovely, perfect; but when the votes are counted out of the ballotbox, you will have just so many for Seymonr and Blair as the white members will have cast; all the rest will be for Grant and Colfax.

Meantime let the good work go on! Induce the Ku-Klux Klan to believe, if human cre-

dulity hath such extent, that all the niggers | summer'-which he thought the extreme they don't shoot will vote for Seymour and limit even after his terrible losses in the Wilthey don't shoot will vote for Seymour and Blair, and there will be more of them left alive to vote for Grant next November than no such delusion had been propagated. Make the Mobile Rebels fancy that they are winning the negroes' vote, and they will no longer drive them out of the street cars-not they!-but insist on giving them the snuggest corners and the softest seats. The Southern Democrats might have won the negro vote by acting with sense since Lee's surrender; and they may win a part of it even yet if they will really try. But they have much leeway to make up, and they should set about it speedily and heartily. Let them remember the old maxim—"Seek not to seem, but to be."

Grant's Generalship.

From the N. Y. World.

The Republican newspapers make a practical confession of the necessity of defending and bolstering up General Grant's damaged reputation for superior military skill. Yesterday, no less than three of the Republican journals of this city thought it incumbent on them to enter the lists. Two of them-the Times and the Evening Post-were simply silly, laying great stress on an old article in the World, written just after the surrender of Lee, in which Grant was praised and puffed in a strain of generous compliment which reflected the public gratitude and joy; puffed and praised without stint, because on such occasions, exact critical judgments are never expected and would be deemed, if not churlish, at least ungracious. When Grant was made Lieutenant-General we applauded; when he was made General we applauded again; and had he been content with this last mark of the public gratitude, his countrymen would not have thought of making a close scrutiny into his military merits. There would have been no motive for disturbing an illusion so flattering to him and so pleasing to them. When a guest whom you have complimented proposes to marry your daughter, your former unreflecting courtesy does not preclude you a stricter inquiry into his character. If he or his friends should be so silly as to quote back your compliments as a proof of his virtues, you would treat them with laughter or contempt. The pretence that a hasty, exulting newspaper article, printed the next morning after a victory, precludes all subsequent inquiry into the merits of the general, is equally ridiculous.

The Sun's attempt to prop up the tottering reputation of General Grant is more to the purpose. The Sun tries to show that the World has exaggerated the strength of Grant's army and the greatness of his losses between the Rapidan and the James. The statesments published in the World rested on the authority of an eminent Republican General, who stated that they were founded on the morning rollcalls of the army. That Republican General, as we were credibly informed and celieve, had prepared and completed a pamphlet or book reviewing Grant's campaign, and abounding with damaging facts and exposures-a work which was withheld only because it had then become certain that General Grant would be nominated by the Republicans for President. We never saw the book, and know nothing of its contents except by vague description at second-hand; but the capacity and opportunities of the author were such as ought to make it sharp and effective. But although we never saw the book, the figures which we published came to us certified by the author in his own handwriting, and authenticated by his signature. We are obliged to regard them as more Mr. Dana was formerly Assistant Secretary of War, and had access to the records of the Department. Even if the returns were in the archives of the Department when Mr. Dana left it, he had no motive to examine them, and since he left it his means of information are not better than ours-we suppose not so good. We do not believe the statements in yesterday's Sun. They bear strong internal marks of having been cooked for a purpose; but we are willing to leave them to be dealt with by the able military critic who is now reviewing the campaign of General Grant in our columns, if he should deem them of consequence enough to be worth his notice. The effectiveness of his criticisms, thus far, do not depend upon punctilious accuracy in the arithmetic of the muster-rolls. They merely assume (what nobody disputes) that Grant's was much the stronger army, and his men equally brave, and demonstrates his poverty of skill in handling them, his want of any consistent plan, his total lack of military foresight. He started on what he supposed would be a campaign of a few weeks, and it took him nearly a whole year. By a series of flank movements and battles murderous to his own men, he succeeded in getting as near to Richmond as Petersburg, and was there held at bay, completely checkmated, for ten wearisome, inglorious months, and he might have been held there during his natural life had it not been for the approach of Sherman from the South. What friend of Grant's is willing to make him ridiculous by saying that he crossed the Rapidan in the spring of 1864 in the expectation of reaching Petersburg by heavy losses and lying there baffled till the spring of the following year, to be then relieved by a circuitous march of a Western general through the Gulf States and thence North? Grant set out in the expectation of a short campaign. His saying that he would "fight it through on that line if it took all summer," proves that he started with the idea that his campaign against Richmond would not extend far into the summer, and that he would be able to take it with his own army. Never did a general more egregiously

other things, that a large sum of money might be paid as a compensation for the liberated slaves. These strange (they seem strange now) tenders by Mr. Lincoln show how his confidence in General Grant had become prostrated by his loss of so many men, his disappointment of so many hopes, by the complete failure of all the calculations and expectations with which Grant had crossed the Rapidan, by his

miscalculate! As time wearily wore on, and

Grant still lay baffled and checkmated before

Petersburg, President Lincoln got discouraged,

and was willing to give the Rebels almost any

terms they would accept short of disunion.

He laid aside the dignity of his great station,

and went himself, accompanied by his highest

Cabinet officer, to meet an embassy of the

Rebels in Hampton Roads—a condescension

and bending to the Rebels which disclosed

anxiety and depression under which he la-

bored, and his small remaining confidence in

General Grant. There are but few men in

the country who know the liberality of the

terms which Mr. Lincoln offered to the Rebels,

as it was for the interest of both Governments

to conceal them at the time, and they are now

but just leaking out. The Chief Justice of

North Carolina in a public address a few days

ago said that the South could have had peace

at the Hampton Roads Conference on condition

that the negroes thereafter born should be free

at the age of twenty-one. But this was not

the only proposal suggested by Mr. Lincoln.

He was so auxious that he plied the Rebel

envoys on every side. He suggested, among

derness-but all the autumn, and, at the time of the Hampton Roads conference, nearly all winter. The Hampton Roads conference is the best commentary on the campaign of General Grant as it appeared to Mr. Lincoln at that time. Mr. Lincoln's going there at all, and especially his going there to make such offers as he made, was the sorriest kind of a compliment to the General who had crossed the Rapidan nearly ten months before, expecting to cap-ture Richmond in a few weeks, and had, as yet, got only to Petersburg without being able to advance another step—lying there foiled even in his clumsy strategy of fighting the enemy wherever he could find him. After Lee evacuated, in consequence of Sherman's approach, the task of capturing his flying, starving army was so easy that any General in the army could have accomplished it. That was no great feat; and apart from that there was nothing in Grant's long campaign against Richmond to glory in.

The Political Situation-1868 and 1852-Seymour Another Poor Plerce.

From the N. Y. Herald. History, they say, repeats itself, and the saying is true. We see it in the records of empires and dynasties, and in the vicissitudes of our own political parties. In truth, the political contests of the present day, in the Old World and the New, are the same as those of the past, with some changes, more or less, in the issues and in the mixing of the elements on both sides. The terrible deluge of 1789, which overwhelmed the ancient noblesse of France and swept off her Bourbons, did not extinguish her pre-existing political parties. So from the wrecks and ruins of the great American deluge of 1861 our two great parties of 1860 substantially reappear to-day. Southern slavery and the old ruling Southern Bourbon aristocracy have been swept off, but still there is a striking general resemblance between the Democratic campaign of 1852, under the banner of poor Pierce, and the campaign of 1868, under the banner of Seymour.

In 1852 the Whig candidate was General Scott, a chieftain who in his military reputation stood as General Grant now stands or as King Saul stood among the mighty men of Israel in his day—a head and shoulders above them all. In the outset the supporters of Scott supposed that his military renown would surely give them the victory; but there were underlying causes at work which brought about the election of poor Pierce in an overwhelming majority of the electoral and popular vote, North and South. The position of Scott was satisfactory; there was nothing alarming, though much that was amusing, in his letters and speeches of the canvass; but Mr. Seward and the other ruling abolition spirits of the Whig party that stood behind Scott were distrusted by the people. Those leading spirits, it was feared, would control his administration if Scott were elected, and in upsetting on the abolition tack the great compromise measures of 1850 would endanger the peace and safety of the country in the reopening of Pandora's box on the slavery question. Hence the otherwise astonishing electoral and popular vote by which poor Pierce and his party were restored to power. Thus all the military glories of Scott, from Chippewa and Niagara to Vera Cruz and Chepultepec, were as but dust in the balance.

Now, is it not apparent to the naked eye that there are underlying and overshadowing causes in this campaign which obscure the military glories of Grant? Admitting that he is a safe and sound man, and that the people reliable than the statements of the editor of so believe him to be, are there not reasons for the Sun. The Evening Post foolishly says that the declaration that the people distrust the the Sun's statemente are trustworthy because | ruling spirits and managers of the party who stand behind him? We have only to look back to the vote of New York in November, 1864, to see that while Seymour was weaker than Fenton the Republican party was stronger than Lincoln. We see in 1868 the party in its confessed weakness, from the elections of 1867, relying upon the strength of its candidate; but, on the other hand, in the local elections of the present year, so far, since the nomination of General Grant we have no evidence that his great name has turned the drift of the popular tide of last year. In fact, as in 1832 on the national bank question the run of General Jackson was a surprise to both parties, so in 1868 there is a possibility that on the national banks, bonds, and taxes there

may be an equally surprising result. We think there is no reason to fear that with General Grant's election the administration will fall under the control of the revolutionary radicals, but every reason to believe that in his quiet way, and more decisively than Lincoln, Grant will be the master of the administration and of Congress, and that the country will be safe in his hands, although his general policy may bring about a complete reconstruction of principles and parties. On the other hand, from the popular distrust of the revolutionary radical leaders, and from the universal uneasiness of the people upon these important matters of the debt and the bonds, and the burden of taxes necessary to meet even the gold interest on the bonds, assuming that there is a probability of Seymour's election and a possibility that it may be as decisive as that of poor Pierce, what shall we gain thereby? From all the lights before us we shall gain only another Pierce administration. The same leaders, the same fire-eaters, the same heresies, and the same blundering influences that controlled Pierce will, from all the signs of the times, control

Seymour. Pierce was elected on the compromise measure of 1850. He was thus elected because on this platform the people believed he would maintain the peace and harmony of the country on the slavery question inaugurated by those great peace measures of Henry Clay. But we all know that poor Pierce became as pliable as wax in the hands of the revolutionary Southern slaveholding oligarchy; we know that he thus became a willing tool in the repeal of the Missouri compromise, the foundation stone of the adjustment of 1850, and we know what followed. His administration prepared the way, and that of his successor, Buchanan, plunged the South into the abyss of the slaveholders' rebellion. We see now that, as far as they have survived, the same elements that controlled poor Pierce controlled the Tammany Convention, and control the Democracy in thir canvass, and will control Seymour if elected. We have no recognition from him or them that the war has settled anything; no recognition that the constitutional amendments resulting from the war are binding upon the Democratic party. They have left the door wide open, in the event of Seymour's election, for a falling back to "the Constitution as it was" in 1860, and for the repudiation of everything that has since occurred changing the order of things existing in 1860.

From the administration of Seymour, in short, if elected, we have nothing better to expect than another term of poor Pierce or a second edition of Andy Johnson in his conflict with Congress; while in the election of Grant we have every reason to hope for a safe and sound conservative policy against the excesses of the radicals on the one hand and the fireeaters on the other. Yet such have been the high-handed assumptions, the blunders and follies and prodigalities and corruptions of the radicals of Congress that the people, for spinning out a bootless campaign not only "all | the sake of a decisive change may prefer

Seymour to Grant, and thus the greatest soldier of the day may again be beaten right and left, North and South, by another poor

The Fallen Oak.

From the N. Y. Independent. It is hard to pen in a few words as much as our hearts prompts us to say of Thaddeus Stevens-now at last in his tomb. Any other President than Andrew Johnson would have announced his death in an official bulletin-as Abraham Lincoln anonunced Edward Everett's. But the grand old Roman needs no tribute from the Punic traitor of the White Honse. Nay, a President who could step down to a drunken mob and ask them to hang Thaddeus Stevens, had no right to intrude a chaplet upon the dead statesman's bier. White flowers were strewn upon the coffin-lid by black hands; and this was greater henor. Henceforth, like a dew, the blessings of the lowly shall keep green his grave.

"And Freedom shall awhile repair To dwell a weeping hermit there."

Called "The Great Commoner," like the elder Pitt, Mr. Stevens was like his prototype in imperious parliamentary sway; like him in eagle-like quickness and ferocity of attack; like him in power of blistering sarcasm; like him in the almost preternatural scorn and contempt which he could express by his countenance and forefinger; like him in arrowy directness of argument; like him in whiteness of unspotted honesty; like him in that selfabnegation which substituted for personal interest a passionate pride of country; and like him, above all things else, in illustrious devotion to liberty.

Of course, we are far from saying that Thaddeus Stevens was gifted with that majestic eloquence which, if tradition be true, made Lord Chatham the Demosthenes of modern times. But it must be remembered that Mr. Stevens rose from a local into a national reputation, not by efforts made in the prime, but in the decline of life. Not sent to Congress till he was already a veteran, he received during his first term his familiar nickname of "Old Thad." His best battles had been fought and won long before the nation saw him lift a spear in Washington. In his ashes lived his wonted fires, but the earlier blaze was brighter than the later embers. If, during his whole career, instead of during a mere fragment of it, he had been an actor on the national stage it, like Palmerston, he had been a life-long gladiator in his country's chief arena; colossal abilities would have achieved for him a colossal reputation. At the death of Coleridge, it was said that "a great man had died, leaving behind him no adequate memorial o his greatness." Of Mr. Stevens it must be said that he leaves behind him no speeches. or measures, or achievements (great as some of them are) which afford an adequate measure of his extraordinary powers. "I shall soon die," said he to us recently, "and shall then be seen forgotten." Such a man can never entirely be forgotten. But there are some statesmen-as, for instance, Burke and Jefferson-who live more vividly after death than before; whose names grow more and more authoritative, and whose influence more and more potent; but Thaddens Stevens does not belong to this immortal class.

Wit is a statesman's sword of victory: he who can wield it is a conqueror even in defeat. Thaddens Stevens always carried this weapon at his side-a Damascus blade that could cut a hair or split a helmet. His jests were coarse or fine, polite or vulgar, according to the company and the occasion. His best repartees were jewels of the first water. A book of them-but they have never been preserved-would send him down to the next generation to be "a wit among lords, and a lord among wits." Bitter as John Randolph, and cruel as Tristam Burgess, Mr. Stevens, unlike either of these serpent-tongued men. never felt mere than a momentary malice. He harbored no unkindness to any human being. In fact, we happen to know that he had not a particle of ill-will even towards Andrew Johnson. To the credit of human nature what more can be said?

His private life was not a good example. His habits included the offenses common with many English statesmen of quarter of a century ago, and too common with some American statesmen of to-day. We do not believe in lying-least of all in the solemn presence of death and the grave. A living man's vices cannot become a dead man's virtues. During his life, Thaddeus Stevens was no saint; nor, after his death, ought he to receive canonization. Sister Loretta's baptismal drops on his brow did not wash away any soilure from his character. Writing of him here as his faithful friend, we know that, could he now so frame these words of ours as best to suit his own wishes, he would command us to paint him truthfully as he was, and would forbid us to omit the necessary shadow of the picture. But we have noticed, as an occasional phenomenon in morals, that public spirit sometimes becomes all the more a passion with men who have lost something of private virtueas if human nature, having stained itself on one side, sought all the more bravely to keep itself bright on another. To all who knew Thaddeus Stevens beneath the surface, it was plain that, having many years ago parted with a proper pride in his personal character, he sought to make perpetual atonement to his higher nature, and by a substituted platonic fidelity to his country's honor; and so this old man loved the Republic as purely as Florizel loved Perdita. But the few men whose private errors may thus become public benefits, and who can say, with Luther, "I thank God for my sins," are none the less to be condemned for those very failings which thus "lean to virtue's side." Nevertheless there is one beautiful spiritual compensation to such men, for hidden within their breasts are solemn sorrows, or what Wordsworth calls "majestic pains," by which their characters become purified as by refining fires. Such inward processes as these long ago made Thaddens Stevens a better Christian than many a Copperhead clergyman who will take

occasion of his death to sneer at his life. Not many months ago, on learning that the cemetery in Lancaster in which he expected his ashes to repose would not admit the body of negroes to burial, he indignantly sold his lot, and purchased one in another ground, where, in the consecrated dust of God's acre, all men might be equal-and so, even in his grave, we may still salute him as "The Great Brave soul! - champion of Commoner." Liberty, Equality, and Fraternity-hail, and

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1868. UNDERTAKERS' LUMBER. 1868.
RED CEDAR.
WALNUT AND PINE. BEASONED CHERRY. 1868.

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1868. CIGAR BOX MAKERS' 1868. BPANISH CEDAR BOX BOARDS, FOR SALE LOW.

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